THE New Republic

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DEFENDING FORMOSA

An Editorial Appraisal of the President's Strategy for Blocking Communist China

Hidden Democratic Gains . . . . . *Gus Tyler*

Security of the Republic . . . . *Harry P. Cain*

Joe Friday—The Plainest Plain-Clothesman

by Reuel Denney

JANUARY 31, 1955

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

Congress interrupted Eisenhower's first State-of-the-Union speech 55 times. The enthusiasm for the victorious new Administration was electric. We sat in the gallery, February 2, 1953, counting the bursts of applause. Taking out the soiled mimeograph speech today we find that the promise to unleash the 7th Fleet was marked "18," followed by "Cheers." With the quiet firmness of a man setting right a great wrong Ike announced that the Truman-Acheson order "to shield Communist China" was being rescinded. Sensation. Ovation!

Two years later Ike is ordering the 7th Fleet to shield Chiang Kai-shek, not Communist China. Bonnie Prince Charlie Chiang isn't coming over the water. Yet that particular bit of official mythology two years ago served its purpose; the public evidently had to have something to cheer, and got it. Now it and the Administration can come to grip with realities. Ike today is actively trying to set up "Two Chinas" and head off a Formosa war. Chiang is down-graded. The real world will always break through after a while, distasteful though it often is.

The most piquant event for us last week was listening to the bootleg Canadian long-playing record "The Investigator," put out by a company under the quietly unostentatious title of "discuriosities." At $5.95 it is selling like hotcakes at music stores in politically surcharged Washington. The performance lasts for about 50 minutes. It was a live broadcast in Canada over the government network May 30. It was tape-recorded unofficially and seems now likely to create a sensation while it is available here. It tells what happened to an unidentified "investigator" with a voice amazingly like that of a certain US Senator when his plane crashed, and he found himself waiting admittance to "Up Here." For savage political satire it reminds us strongly of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. It shows what can be done with dramatic broadcasting as an art form when commercial inhibitions are removed. There isn't a network in the US that would have put on this show. It is also an easy way for an American to find out how his country looks to the outside world, even to friendly, tactful adjacent Canada. The hostess who plays this record, we venture to think, will find guests providing their own entertainment thereafter—for the next three to six hours.

Action on the security front included the following: For the second time Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl (ex-Republican governor of Minnesota) dismissed key counts brought by Attorney General Brownell against Professor Owen Lattimore as too vague and shadowy. Failure of Brownell now to take this case a second time to the US Court of Appeals (where he was earlier slapped down) will be an abject admission that he knows he can't win. (This is the case on which McCarthy said he would "stand or fall.") . . . Defense Secretary Wilson "cleared" Annie Lee Moss of what the United Press called "any taint of disloyalty" but did it in language which caused the *New York Post* to observe: "The Administration's endless capacity for moral compromise is becoming the shame of the nation." Mrs. Moss, Wilson says, is "not actually subversive"; she can go back to work for the department in a non-sensitive job. How would you like to have that qualifier, "actually," written before a statement that you weren't subversive? . . . Wolf Ladejinsky, the Russian-born US Government expert who achieved Japanese land reform, prepared to depart for Viet-Nam—still a security risk to Agriculture Secretary Benson, not a security risk to FOA Director Stassen, and an unresolved enigma for President Eisenhower in a case upon which he can't make up his mind. How Ladejinsky can win the confidence of the Viet-Namese when Ike has publicly said he doesn't know whether he is, or isn't, a security risk, we can't guess.

Ike asks that capsulized digests of big issues be brought to him for decision. Hitherto it has been assumed that the President studied these digests himself. In the Ladejinsky case, however, Ike told his press conference that the material was read aloud to him by Secretary Benson, and that he was "scared" by the "record." He specifically declined to approve or disapprove of Stassen's rehiring Ladejinsky: the responsibility was Stassen's, he said. There have been some mild criticisms in the press over the affair, but if anyone has hinted that Benson should quit we have missed it.

Every week or so Walter Winchell tips off his TV audience on some stock they should buy. Glad listeners buy the stock, and professionals dryly observe that if you sell it again by 11 o'clock you can make a profit. We hope the forthcoming Senate stock market investigation looks into the matter. The abstract question of collusion is also raised. On Jan. 10 a Winchell tip to buy shares of Pantepec Oil Company stock on the American Exchange resulted in a tidal wave of orders, with an initial block of 357,600 shares, said to be the largest ever put together. The stock closed at 8⅝, up 1⅞. By Jan. 21 the stock was back down again to 7½. Somebody had a good ride, but was it the amateurs?

Notes: White House press conferences will be recorded for television from now on; since there is no way of paraphrasing a sound track, unfavorable questions and answers will be censored out. . . . Walter Lippmann wrote the best piece we saw about the new budget: the Eisenhower-Humphrey goal is for a balance, but at lower tax levels that cut back both civilian and military expenditures; the present Cold War era is equated with "peace," thereby excusing all-round expenditure reductions. . . . The budget seems to be excessively over-optimistic.

We blushingly report that a new anti-biotic has been christened "T.R.B."; Rockefeller Institute authorities say it's wonderful for flu and mumps. . . . Well, we've been working on political mumps now for 40 years; we can't say we feel any confidence of a cure.

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EDITORIAL

Defending Formosa

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S message to Congress on the Formosa Straits was intended to clarify US policy in a conflict that may lead to world war. In that, if nothing else, it has failed. Congress may rush through a resolution in support of the President's policy; but few or none of those who vote can say what it is they are voting for.

It is perfectly consistent with the wording of the President's message to interpret it as a demand for authority to take the first overt step in initiating war against Communist China. In the name of action to defend Formosa the President declares:

> We must be alert to any concentration or employment of Chinese Communist forces obviously undertaken to facilitate attack upon Formosa and be prepared to take appropriate military action.

"Military Action," according to a high Administration official, could include bombing to break up a concentration of Chinese Communist shipping on coastal harbors or even planes on air bases on the Chinese mainland opposite Formosa. The President adds:

> A suitable Congressional resolution would clearly and publicly establish the authority of the President . . . to employ the armed forces of this nation promptly and effectively for the purposes indicated. . . .

Congressional leaders accordingly introduced a resolution authorizing the President:

> To employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack. This authority to include the securing and protection of *such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands* and the taking of *such other measures as he judges to be required and appropriate* for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. [Italics ours.]

The Congressional leaders, in conferring upon the President the powers that he seeks, do so in the knowledge that Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has consistently advocated action to take advantage of every feasible opportunity to undertake air and naval bombardment of the Chinese mainland.

Obviously this is not the policy of the present Congress. Therefore, Congress must believe that President Eisenhower is committed in fact to blocking Radford and that his message does not mean what it says. There is, we believe, some justification for this more reassuring point of view.

It is true that on taking office President Eisenhower repudiated the Truman policy of gradual disengagement from the Chinese Civil War. He reversed his predecessor's use of the Seventh Fleet as a buffer in the separation of China and Formosa. He encouraged, while supplying and training the Nationalists, the belief that they might return to the Chinese mainland and he permitted raids against the mainland to take place. He gave no formal assurance that the US would back the Nationalist grip upon the coastal islands occupied by Chiang as he withdrew from China. But US officers of the Military Advisory Assistance Group participated in preparing the defenses of Quemoy, Matsu and the Tachens—all within sight of the mainland, and some within artillery range.

MORE recently, however, President Eisenhower has moved to retreat from these commitments. He has discouraged talk of a Nationalist return to the mainland. He has emphasized the defensive nature of our commitment in the proposed Formosan Treaty. And when four of the five members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff urged action in September to counter the Communist shelling of Quemoy the President chose instead to wait. Secretary Dulles relied on unsupported threats on the Tachen Islands and the President participated in the bluff, both men declaring that the Tachens were as important to Formosa as Quemoy or Matsu. (In the defense of Okinawa it was accepted that the Tachens were more important since they provide a radar screen.) But when the Chinese Communists asserted their own air and sea mastery over the Nationalists on the Tachens, the President chose to let the Tachens go. He called on the Nationalists to evacuate the Tachens and sent the Seventh Fleet to provide air and sea cover for the retreat.

Thus, during the past year the President has been retreating in the Formosa area, and inducing the Nationalists to retreat. Covering a retreat, persuading the advancing enemy not to press too hard or too fast is among the most delicate and dangerous of operations. It requires brave talk to maintain morale. It requires a willingness to turn and fight if cornered. It requires from domestic critics restraint and tact.

Peking came close to cornering the United States when it announced the imprisonment of the American fliers. The Radford doctrine then dictated a course of instantaneous if not massive retaliation. Instead the President

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EDITORIAL

acted with the utmost restraint in referring the issue to the United Nations. Accordingly the UN Secretary General went to Peking to open diplomatic negotiations. He left carrying some hope of compromise. At that moment the Communist assault in the Tachen area began. The Nationalists alone could not hold the Tachens. Faced with a choice of fighting or retreating the President stood by his decision to retreat. His failure to protect a group of islands he had held vital to the defense of Formosa left the status of other coastal islands held by the Nationalists in doubt. And so, to prevent Peking from following on too hard, the President in his statement to Congress reaffirmed the readiness of the United States to turn and fight.

This at least is one interpretation that may be placed upon the President's message. It attributes to him a pacific intent and the will to override those of his advisers who would choose war if Peking offers a convenient pretext. It is this interpretation presumably that leads otherwise responsible legislators to endorse the blank check issued to the President almost without debate. But if their attitude is thereby explained, it still is not justified without a more searching review.

For, in our opinion, the terms of the President's message raises new obstacles to the only strategy around which the common resistance of the UN and the non-Communist nations to Chinese Communist aggression can be built.

President Eisenhower's message starts by laying claim for purely strategic reasons, to Formosa. It is, the President declares, part of the chain of Pacific islands that "constitutes for the United States and other free nations the geographical backbone of their security structure in that ocean." Therefore, the President concludes, "all the free nations have a common interest that Formosa and the Pescadores should not fall into the control of aggressive Communist forces."

But the free nations will insist on interpreting their own self interest, and they do not subscribe in fact to the US view. Twelve non-Communist nations, including India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan, have recognized Communist China. With that action goes recognition in varying degrees of Peking's claim to Formosa. President Eisenhower himself lends support to the claim by affirming in the proposed Formosan treaty that Formosa and China are part of the same sovereignty.

NON-COMMUNIST unity in the Pacific cannot be built around the proposition that Formosa must be kept out of Communist hands, regardless of its own desires or the means by which unification is brought about. There is, however, a basis, strongly grounded in law, for the proposition that Formosa must not pass to Communist China *by means of force*. With powerful logic the United States can argue that, under the terms of the Japanese Peace Treaty, Japan has renounced all title to Formosa and that no other nation has acquired it. There is further logic in arguing that Formosa's future must be settled by negotiation, according to principles of self-determination and under the aegis of the United Nations. On such a basis the United States would have a fair chance of winning UN endorsement of a cease fire in the Formosa Straits. But President Eisenhower has given up this source of political strength. "We would welcome action by the United Nations," he declares. (As if the United States were a country outside looking in rather than a member which has declared the UN to be the cornerstone of its foreign policy). At the same time the President pins UN action to the military expediency of the US, a position the UN majority will not accept.

A United Nations cease-fire in the Formosa Straits achieved at a time of rapid Communist advance would be a miraculous achievement for US diplomacy. Objectionable as it would be to Peking, it would be almost as burdensome to nations such as India which have sanctioned Peking's claims on territory that is historically Chinese. And yet the cease-fire concept retains an immense appeal. This appeal to world public opinion might force acceptance of the cease-fire both by Peking and its would-be friends. But again the hope is minimized by the terms the President has set.

"I do not propose," says the President, "that the United States enlarge its defensive obligations beyond For-

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mosa and the Pescadores." But he goes on, in phrases of profound ambiguity, to hint just the opposite. Resorting to the old word *"might"* President Eisenhower continues:

> The danger of armed attack directed against that area compels us to take into account closely related localities and actions which under current conditions might determine the failure or success of such an attack.

Accordingly the President seeks authority for preventive military action to be used

> in situations which are recognizable as parts of or definite preliminaries to an attack against the main positions of Formosa and the Pescadores.

Whether or not the concentration of Communist shipping in the mainland port of Amoy would be recognizable as a preliminary to attack, Communist invasion of Quemoy could hardly be interpreted in any other way. For the President himself declares that Quemoy is "one of the natural approaches to Formosa."

Thus, explicit or not, and legal or not, the United States has accepted a plain moral obligation for the Nationalist garrison of 30,000 troops for as long as they remain in Quemoy.

Three reasons apparently dictate the acceptance of this moral obligation. The first is fear of a collapse in Nationalist morale. That Nationalist morale is already low can be freely granted. That Nationalist morale would fall further if Quemoy were lost can hardly be denied. The argument points up the damages to a leading world power, of pinning its destiny to a weak ally. Yet the Nationalists have lost Hainan and the Chusan Archipelago without giving up; nor need they anticipate enslavement while Formosa stands. To the Nationalists, Quemoy is important *not as a means of protecting Formosa but as part of their plan to reinvade the Chinese Mainland.* That is an objective which they can accomplish only as auxiliaries to our American invasion force including ground troops. It is a futile and dangerous dream which the US must dispel.

The second reason given for accepting the moral obligation of defending Quemoy is the belief that Amoy harbor which surrounds it is a staging base for the invasion of Formosa. That is true but far from conclusive.

In undertaking to defend Formosa we must, of course, risk war. If the Chinese Communists should launch an invasion of Formosa, the sound course for the United States would be to fight another limited war. We could win that war in the hundred miles of open water that lies between Formosa and China. The Communists' task would be forbidding. For, after all, the United States needed 1,000 ships to take Pacific islands held by 50,000 men; 10 times that number of defenders guard Formosa today. This then is a battle from which some gain as well as suffering might result from victory in turning back the Communist invasion fleet. But no such victory could brighten a battle for Quemoy. There is only one way of holding Quemoy; that is by massive, and no doubt nuclear air attacks against the surrounding mainland; these would lead inevitably to all-out war.

A line legally, morally and militarily defensible can be drawn between Formosa and the mainland. It does not run into Amoy harbor and around Quemoy.

The third reason offered for our implied obligation to defend Quemoy is the President's desire to placate the Republican Right. This Mr. Eisenhower may achieve—at the cost of losing our allies. For Quemoy, unlike Formosa, is indisputably an integral part of China. Even our closest ally, Britain, has recognized the Chinese Communist regime as the legitimate government of China. That action confers upon Peking the implied right to claim its own property. For all the President's references to the common interest of the free nations and the stake of the UN, a war started over Quemoy would find the US and Chiang fighting alone.

And not only alone, but confronted by the moral censure of other free nations. For if war should start over Quemoy what legal defense would President Eisenhower cite to the UN and our allies as grounds for common action, or even as justification for our own intervention? We would not permit a sworn and well-armed enemy to hold Catalina. How can we demand conduct of Peking that we ourselves would not observe?

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is certainly aware of these perils. He hopes they will pass. His message, read between the lines, holds out hope of a bargain. The Communist attacks on the island, he implies, are bad *because they are limited to the invasion of Formosa;* if Peking will break the link, by foreswearing her claims to Formosa, then the coastal islands now held by the Nationalists may be given back.

If this is the bargain then it seems almost certain to fail. For the firmest impression brought back by Dag Hammerskjold, the UN Secretary General, from Peking is the implacable intention of Peking to take Formosa. A revolutionary and intensely Nationalist regime will recoil from the proposition that it should submit to negotiation the future of an island it believes to be its own. And yet there is a faint chance that Peking will foreswear force as a means of regaining Formosa. That is the objective to which we should strive to commit the UN. But instead the President seems to be declaring that for as long as Peking eyes Formosa, we shall remain in Quemoy. The Congress apparently will put America's signature to his proposal to hold any island in Nationalist hands. It should couple its signature with the insistence that the Nationalists be evacuated without delay from coastal islands that can be held only by all-out war. We cannot, we repeat, avoid risking war. But, for so long as we extend our moral protection to Nationalist-held Quemoy, we are not risking but courting war.

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Security of the Republic

ON JANUARY 15, 1955, Harry P. Cain, Senator from Washington from 1946 to 1952 and since then a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, addressed a meeting of Republicans in the Fifth Congressional District in Spokane. "I am here as a proud Republican," said Mr. Cain, "but I am speaking as one who feels that his basic allegiance is to the nation."

Mr. Cain first praised the work of the Subversive Activities Control Board in terms we believe to be just. He then spoke of his six enjoyable but hectic years in the United States Senate. "Its only conceivable drawback," he noted, "was an exaggerated emphasis on work of every possible kind rather than on output of thought." "I readily confess," he stated, "that I attempted to accomplish too much for too many people in too many directions all at once. In attempting all this I lost sight of some fundamentals which I have returned to focus during the past two years."

In presenting the reflections of two years Mr. Cain declared his willingness to live indefinitely under the conditions and demands imposed by the conflict against Communism. He expressed his view that given intelligent world leadership the United States would eventually win this conflict. He cited as his major concern, whether at the conclusion of the conflict freedom and justice would govern the United States.

Promising that his address would not contain "a single unreasonable, insupportable or destructive political reference," Mr. Cain analyzed the fundamental problems raised by the federal security program. With some deletions made for reasons of space this speech is printed below:

NO ONE among us denies that the present is an age of peril. Were we in disagreement about this, we could reach agreement about nothing.

Most of those in authority in each political party refer to the present and the years of our immediate future to be an intended period of peaceful co-existence with our enemies. It makes me much more alert and less gullible to think of these years as being co-existence with conflict. Call these years what you will, they will be demanding of a national preparedness and readiness in the armed services, which will long continue the draft or some counterpart—on the farm and throughout industry—sufficient to call for hard sacrifices and participation by all of us.

This knowledge doesn't bother or perplex me. I accept it willingly. Like you, I am not living in the past or in the future. We must contribute in some real measure to the age in which we live.

As between our material strength and that of the Soviet Union, I see no particular hazards or defeat in store for the United States. I can only believe as I do that our present leaders and those to come will pursue every intelligent avenue for reconciling our differences with the leaders of international Communism short of war. I must remain convinced, as I am, that we shall prevail and survive through any war which may be forced on civilization. In this sense and as a citizen, I have no fear of the Soviet Union whatsoever.

My only major concern is with what we are to be when international Communism's ambition for world domination has beeen defeated in one way or another. Will we or those who follow us be able to say after the conflict has run its course that through its years, even though they be a hundred, we Americans and our government have maintained and left untarnished our self-respect?

Will we then be able to reassure the rest of the world that America remains a place in which the individual is free because his government and those in authority in every walk of life have been just?

As for myself, justice or equity and freedom or liberty are the two evidences of human progress and hope which distinguish representative governments and their peoples from those directed by tyrants, dictators, and despots. Other differences are only skin deep and hardly worth mentioning.

I want no victory over the godless forces of oppression which does not include the preservation of these assets without which a free people die and wither away.

Here we are confronted with the greatest challenge of our time. Now is when we must inquire about and make certain that in working to become victorious across the seas, we are permitting no domestic enemies or any acts of cowardice, shortsightedness, arrogance, or stupidity to assault or cripple our bastions of freedom here at home.

How often do you hear it said that because of our overwhelming fear of Communism, we are blindly or blithely destroying the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? How often do you hear it said that muddle-headed if well-intentioned dreamers are so enamored of liberty in the abstract that we are doing too little or nothing meaningful in opposing the conspiracy which seeks to drive freedom from the earth?

I listen each day to those who frantically espouse each

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of these premises. In my judgment, neither contention is even remotely correct but there are far too many citizens who believe one or the other of these contradictory courses to be true.

IN OUR struggle to survive as free men and women, we must keep three elements in balance. They are justice, security and freedom. It seems apparent to me that none of these elements can stand alone and that no two can operate successfully without the other.

In the years of our past, we have lived by the dictates of freedom and justice. We have known what they were and we have long taken their blessings for granted. We can't say as much about internal security. In terms of time it is reasonable to say that our nation didn't recognize the pressing need for an internal security system prior to 1947, a mere 8 years ago.

In March of 1947, our nation departed from the more tranquil life and times of the past. A government program was established to examine into the loyalty of those many individuals who serve the federal establishment as employees.

This was followed by the Internal Security Act of 1950, which created the Subversive Activities Control Board and other domestic security activities. Then came the adoption of the Federal Employees Security Program in April of 1953. As its predecessor loyalty program did, this program requires that every civilian employee or applicant for employment in the executive branch of the government submit to an investigation for loyalty but it goes much further than loyalty and considers a number of other factors like excess drinking, sex perversion and bad company which affect the nation's security. In addition to these far-reaching measures, the last, or 83rd Congress, stiffened up most of the statutes dealing with espionage, counter-espionage and sabotage. You may now, for example, be executed as a spy in peacetime.

When you add all of this to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Smith Act, various rulings by various Attorneys General, the continuing and vigilant activities of Congressional investigative committees, and the investigative processes of the Civil Service Commission, you have in absolute fact today an internal security system of practically all-inclusive dimensions. With the exception of wire-tapping authority, would you establish much more were you an autocratic ruler in our land?

More than a year ago, when our present security system was but several months of age, the President said:

> In this country if someone accuses you, he must confront you; he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose.

In his State-of-the-Union message, Dwight Eisenhower said what I believe he means literally:

> We shall [he said] ferret out Communist subversion while carefully preserving our traditions and the basic rights of our citizens.

These assurances that justice will determine security decisions represent the only foundation strong enough to support a domestic security system for the United States. In no other fashion can we build a system we can trust or live with and any other system will shortly become identical with what we so rebel against in the Soviet Union and fought so hard against and vanquished so completely in Hitler's Germany.

Let us never forget that in an effort to keep our nation secure at home, we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out.

Since April of 1953, the nation has been living with Executive Order 10450, which looks into the loyalty and security reliability of millions of our citizens who are employed by or seek now and in the future to be employed by the federal establishment. The cornerstone or guide within this order is that no individual shall be employed by or work for the government unless his or her retention is clearly consistent with the national interest.

What have we learned out of this unique and new experience?

The most encouraging lesson is an admission by many responsible persons in executive and legislative authority that we suffer most from a lack of experience with the security program we have created. I know but few who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. I know but few who believe the system is an adequate answer to the reasonable demands of internal security.

I WAS impressed on Wednesday of this week when the District of Columbia Bar Association publicly announced that a special and continuing committee of its leading members has been established to provide legal representation for government employees who become involved in security cases. This service will be provided without any cost whatsoever to those employees who are unable to obtain counsel of their own choosing or who are without funds to retain an attorney.

But to be impressed by this development is not sufficient. Never before in our history has it been thought necessary to provide protection from the outside free of charge, for the individual against possible and unwarranted abuse and condemnation by his government. If any steps will cause us to stop and think, this is it.

My own considered view is that our security system has worked well and fairly on the average but that conspicuous and inexcusable examples to the contrary have occurred much too often. It isn't persuasive that we should be complimented because we seldom err. Our nation can't long tolerate a system which doesn't soon eliminate the possibility for errors which are disastrous

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to anyone like you or me when they arise. I want you to think about three instances in which our internal security apparatus has failed completely in one respect or another in its mission of balancing the requirements of freedom with the demands of security.

The first: The case of Wolf Ladejinsky has the more recently been in the public's eye. In reflecting on this sad matter, I speak as a part of that "outraged citizenry" to which Dwight Eisenhower made proper and pointed reference.

The Ladejinsky case points up practically every weakness which we can find or trace in our prevailing security system. It includes evidences of the shortsightedness, ruthlessness, smugness and brutality of bureacracy at their worst.

Wolf Ladejinsky was naturalized a citizen in 1928. He became a public servant for the government in 1935 and has been on the federal payroll ever since. During these 20 years, his written record of service has been noted for its reliability and competence and for his intelligent contributions to our nation's fight against international Communism. Ladejinsky was a powerful fighter in the forces against oppression and slavery long before many among us were conscious of the problem. In his years of service, no supportable question against Ladejinsky's loyalty was ever raised.

So far as I know, Wolf Ladejinsky has never been faced by any accuser nor has he been confronted with any charges. He became unwillingly a cause celebre because some eager beavers and Johnny-come-latelys in our necessary effort to keep America strong couldn't take the time to talk with him or to relate the points in question to 20 years of a man's private and public life.

Ladejinsky was saved because he had friends in high places who have known him intimately through the years, and because nameless, outraged citizens cried aloud in their indignation.

It isn't everyone who can call on a Douglas MacArthur, a Walter Judd, and members of both parties in both Houses of the Congress. Men and women of smaller reputations might only consider themselves caught in a trap without knowing where to turn for help or an opportunity to state their case.

I shed bitter tears for a political reason as well. The case of Wolf Ladejinsky hasn't been solved with finality. There has been no retraction or apology over his being labeled a security risk. Great agencies of our great government proclaim the man's loyalty and need for his splendid services. Another equally great department is silent and seemingly content to let a cloud on a citizen's priceless reputation hang on.

You will hear more about Wolf Ladejinsky. Your political opponents will demand, with justification I can't deny, that a full explanation of the circumstances and details be spread on the public record. This was our job to undertake. We were the ones who blundered. It was for us to explain the manner in which the injustice and contradiction occurred in order that you citizens would be reassured that no similar injustice would happen again. The measure of our collective and individual character is always determined by the way in which we admit our weaknesses and by the steps we take to correct them.

The second, Victor Havris, of Detroit, was a master sergeant stationed in Europe in 1953. At the age of 32, he had 14 years of loyal service behind him. It was thought by someone that the young man's father had been a Communist. It was developed through a hearing conducted by an Air Force security board that Victor Havris, at the age of 12, had been taken by his father, now dead, to some Communist Party meetings. There was no evidence or charge that young Havris was a Communist or a fellow-traveler or that he had ever attended any Communist gathering since he was 12 years old.

Because of the disclosure that young Havris had been led by the hand of his father to a Communist meeting, he was declared to be a security risk and faced dismissal from the Air Force.

This recommendation was overruled by a special board which was appointed to re-examine the case. A Democratic Congressman from Michigan was the one who prevailed upon the Air Force to delay and re-examine its dismissal decision.

The third: Milo J. Radulovich was a first lieutenant in the Air Force who was not on active duty when questions about his being a security risk were raised in 1953. No doubt about his loyalty was intimated publicly. The case against Radulovich, who was a physics student at the University of Michigan under th GI bill of rights, was based on accusations that his father, John Radulovich, had read pro-Communist publications and that his sister, Mrs. Margaret Fishman, had marched as a picket in pro-Communist demonstrations.

Radulovich

For these reasons, ouster proceedings were initiated against Milo Radulovich. This intended action was concurred in by the board of three colonels who first heard the case and by every staff level until the question was laid before the Air Force Secretary.

When Milo Radulovich, age 26, heard that his reputation had been restored by the Air Force Secretary, he said: "It's just like having your future handed back to you. Just to say thanks isn't enough. I never expected it; I'm kind of bowled over."

It's time that we begin to worry when a young American, age 26, expresses surprise that he was dealt with justly by his government.

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I now offer to you some recommendations and suggestions which perhaps are durable and lasting in their value.

(a) There is a pressing need for the adoption of some method which will guarantee that important or unreconcilable differences between heads of departments in the loyalty and/or internal security fields will be referred for decision to a higher authority.

No internal security system can become effective, understandable, or reasonable unless its standards and the procedures for implementing them are national standards.

In the Ladejinsky affair, one standard was advanced by the State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration while a fundamentally contradictory standard was supported by the Agriculture Department. This incredible result bewildered employees throughout the government and confused people within our country and all around the world.

If there isn't one national policy which is advocated and supported from the very top, there can't be any system or understanding or order at all.

The higher authority in question could be the Chief Executive or some high-ranking official to whom such a task is assigned or to a commission which certainly would include within it private citizens for whom the nation has the fullest measure of respect and confidence in their characters and judgment.

(b) We must employ a more meticulous care in the selection of security officers. Because of the scope and newness of the problem, some are assigned to judge others who are simply not qualified for these most difficult of all assignments.

Above all else, the nation's need is for security personnel who can tell the difference between disloyalty and nonconformity; between treason and heresy.

EVERY government worker must be loyal and reliable but there is no reason why they must be rigidly orthodox in their thinking. There is every reason to encourage the iconoclast as well as the conformist to serve the Republic on the public payroll you taxpayers support.

Whether in or out of government, the orthodox mind, because of its strength and singleness of purpose, maintains and preserves progress, but the dreamer and the nonconformist make progress. The opportunity to be different, while being strictly loyal, is a climate we ought to take pains to develop.

I consider the security officer to be the cornerstone in our fight to remain strong and free. Any misfits or second-raters among them are more dangerous to our future than the subversives they endeavor to catch. These are the people who indict the innocent without reason and overlook the guilty for lack of knowledge, training and experience.

Were I appointing a security officer, I would select no one whose background didn't include a sound and wide knowledge of the theoretical advance and practice of Communism since the times of Karl Marx and this same individual would be required to have an equal knowledge and understanding of our Constitution, its Bill of Rights, the movements which produced the Declaration of Independence, and the history of the United States.

(c) Under Executive Order 10450, the function of a security hearing board is to conduct hearings on security cases and offer their decisions to the head of a given agency for him to accept or reject as he thinks best.

The members of these hearing boards are generally chosen from the top level of the administrative working force. The rather large number whom I know personally are conscientious, competent and desirous of being fair.

Ladejinsky

Their liabilities are few, but important. They have no tenure of office and they lack a feeling of independence because they are subordinates and subject to the directions of superiors. Another sizable fault is that a majority of them have had no previous experience with hearings and the kind of testimony with which these hearings deal.

These security hearing board members lay no claim to being professionals. They started as rank amateurs and it will take time for some to learn their new business and longer for others. I can only recognize their inexperience to be a perplexing problem. I constantly wonder whether professional hearing examiners could better keep the balance we seek between security and justice.

(d) It might be advantageous to separate the personnel function from the function of internal security. It often happens that the job-suitability interviewer or the processor of personnel forms is called upon to make at least a preliminary judgment on questions of loyalty and security.

Why shouldn't the interviewer or processor pigeonhole an application which indicates that the applicant has been a member of organizations alleged to be subversive? These organizations may not be subversive or perhaps they weren't before they went out of business years ago. No one is likely to encounter any future trouble by shelving a troublesome-looking application. Many a personnel officer will react to security questions as he would to poison. He wants none of either.

Too much has been said about government employment being a privilege and not a right. Of course, it's a privilege. Why labor the obvious? All an applicant is entitled to is a fair and impartial break. He or she does have that right to be judged competitively and fairly on

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their job qualifications. Their security status could be judged subsequently by an authority in that field.

We must be alert always to avoid procedures, forms and attitudes which stimulate the advancement of mediocrity in any way within the federal structure.

(e) We must increasingly learn to tailor security to the job. An individual may be unsuited for the strictness of security demanded by a particularly sensitive assignment. This does not necessarily imply that the individual couldn't fill many other important assignments with credit to himself and the government. Our operations and the living in the past never called for such an exercise of good judgment as does the present. If this were Russia, we wouldn't bother much about this exercise. Because we live in America, we must be bothered constantly.

(f) The basic criterion in Executive Order 10450 ought, I think, to be re-examined in the light of every development in the last 20 months.

This criterion, that an accused applicant or employee must meet the test that his employment is "clearly consistent with the interest of the United States" would and does, where literally applied, constitute a burden which can hardly be borne by anyone. It almost makes the employee affirmatively prove that the national interest requires the retention or continuation of his services. Who among us could do that?

I believe that the phrase "clearly consistent" has been the source of much of our trouble and that the cases previously referred to, and others like them, were instigated by it.

"Clearly consistent" can easily be construed to mean without doubts, real or fancied, of any kind. It can be read to mean that pure hearsay or malicious gossip or unsupported allegations constitute doubts to be resolved in favor of the government. To my knowledge it has been so read.

Such an interpretation implies that a domestic system of absolute security is both desirable and possible. In point of logic and commonsense, it cannot be either possible or desirable.

ANY system through which men and women are judged must provide the judges with room for judgment and discretion.

Instead of the rigidity of "clearly consistent" we might better work toward the latitudes included in language like this:

> No person should be dismissed or denied employment from the federal service as a security risk unless it is affirmatively found that his retention or employment is reasonably inconsistent with the national interest.

I am not suggesting that an established doubt should not be resolved in favor of the government. It should be so resolved. What I am suggesting, and what our nation ought to demand, is that the doubt about an individual be first established before it is resolved against him.

Let the government judges assume their rightful responsibility for establishing their doubts about any individual to be valid and most of the fear and skepticism concerning our security system would disappear overnight.

In expressing this conviction, I am thinking about you and what you are entitled to should you endeavor to join or remain within the federal establishment.

(g) The general public has a tendency to consider loyalty and security as being one and the same thing. That doesn't follow. A loyal person can be a security risk and a security risk can be truly loyal. Obviously, a disloyal person is a risk.

WE SHOULD, I believe, be more specific in our use of the term "security risk." Drunkards, perverts, drug users, gossipers, and those who insist on keeping bad company may well be security risks while being loyal. We ought to make this distinction clear. When a person is fired as a risk, the reason for their being so considered ought to be stated.

A person who drinks too much can often recover from that indiscretion and build a new life—if given a chance. The risk dismissed for being disloyal will remain disgraced for life.

Here again we should be trying to strengthen our federal structure without unnecessarily destroying individuals in the process.

Espionage agents will be found among the disloyal. These are the ones we ought to try the hardest to discover. When we do, we ought to execute them. Risks who are otherwise loyal will not often be found in this category. We ought to treat them accordingly—without needless embarrassment or harassment.

A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in our people. Any government, to deserve to survive, must deserve the respect of its citizenry. A government is under no compulsion to be less severe in punishing crimes against the state, but that government is under every compulsion to extend consideration and just treatment to every citizen. He or she must be treated as what they actually are—the fiber and substance from which a free nation derives its strength and purpose.

Some wise man in the early days of our beginning, perhaps it was Franklin, said: "I give you a Republic if you can keep it."

That's what I've tried to talk about, as a citizen—How to keep it.

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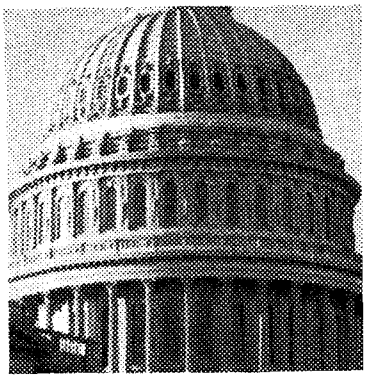

Hidden Democratic Gains

The Democrats Can Win the Presidency in '56 with the Same Proportion of the Popular Vote They Polled in '54.

by Gus Tyler

THE FINAL returns from the 1954 Congressional elections are just in. The facts most indicative of the voters' mood—the actual popular vote cast for candidates for Congress—not available until January 1, contradict many of the conclusions drawn last November. What was a supposedly slight Democratic gain in strength turns out to have been the heaviest popular vote for Democratic candidates in any of the last 10 national elections, except for 1940 and 1948. Yet in spite of this shift in public opinion, the gap in 1954 between votes and seats for the Democratic Party was greater than in all previous comparable years of this generation.

Here are some of the conclusions which the new information supports.

1. The popular vote cast for Democratic candidates in 1954 is one of the highest in modern years.

YEAR	% DEMOCRATIC	YEAR	% DEMOCRATIC
1938	50.8%	1948	53.7%
1940	53.1	1950	50.3
1942	48.0	1952	50.2
1944	52.2	1954	52.6
1946	45.7		

Even more impressive than the *national* percentage of the Democratic vote is the unusually high percentage of the Democratic vote in states outside the South.

YEAR	% DEMOCRATIC	YEAR	% DEMOCRATIC
1942	45.7%	1950	47.1%
1944	48.5	1952	45.0
1946	43.1	1954	49.4
1948	49.6		

The Democratic vote outside the South in 1954 was near the 50 percent mark—almost as high as in the year of Truman's re-election—1948. In itself, this is a highly significant fact, indicating that—so far as the popular vote is concerned in the Congressional elections—the Democrats are within striking distance of a majority of the votes even without Southern strength.

2. The increased vote for Democratic Congressional candidates was a *national* phenomenon.

The Democrats won House seats in 15 states: 3 in Illinois, 3 in Pennsylvania, 2 in Missouri, and 2 in Michigan. The Democrats won a seat in each of the following states: California, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Indiana.

The limited nature of these victories, with the heavy gains in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Michigan, gave the impression that the Democratic gains over 1952 were confined to the aforementioned states.

The truth is that the Democratic vote for Congress in 1954 rose percentage-wise above that of 1952 in *every state* in the Union except Nevada, Washington, and Utah. The following table shows the Democratic percentage of the vote in 1952 and the percentage in 1954:

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

STATE	1952	1954	DIFFERENCE
Arizona	51.5%	54.3%	+ 2.8%
California	46.0	51.5	+ 5.5
Colorado	44.6	50.0	+ 5.4
Connecticut	46.2	49.2	+ 3.0
Delaware	48.1	55.3	+ 7.2
Idaho	40.6	45.5	+ 4.9
Illinois	46.1	50.2	+ 4.1
Indiana	43.2	46.7	+ 3.5
Iowa	33.2	41.5	+ 8.3
Kansas	40.6	43.5	+ 2.9
Maine	32.7	45.0	+12.3
Maryland	48.2	53.7	+ 5.5
Massachusetts	46.8	53.2	+ 6.4
Michigan	47.4	48.1	+ .7
Minnesota	46.0	53.1	+ 7.1
Missouri	52.2	56.2	+ 4.0
Montana	43.5	52.2	+ 8.7
Nebraska	31.8	38.4	+ 6.6
Nevada	49.5	45.5	— 4.0
New Hampshire	36.9	45.3	+ 8.4
New Jersey	42.6	48.8	+ 6.2
New Mexico	52.0	59.2	+ 7.2
New York	45.5	48.9	+ 3.4
North Dakota	21.6	33.9	+12.3
Ohio	44.5	45.4	+ .9
Oregon	38.7	45.6	+ 6.9
Pennsylvania	47.7	50.6	+ 2.9
Rhode Island	54.1	59.9	+ 5.8
South Dakota	31.4	40.9	+ 9.5
Utah	44.4	44.3	— .1
Vermont	28.2	38.6	+10.4
Washington	43.4	43.4	same

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STATE	1952	1954	DIFFERENCE
West Virginia	53.9	57.5	+ 3.6
Wisconsin	38.4	47.5	+ 9.1
Wyoming	39.9	43.8	+ 3.9

The above table not only shows that the Democratic gain was national but also that the greatest gains in the popular vote for the Democrats were NOT made in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri where the party won two or three new seats. The greatest gains were made in Maine, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Montana, New Hampshire, Vermont (where no new seats were won), and in Wisconsin (where one seat was won). In short, the number of seats gained is not a clear indicator of strength gained in the separate states.

3. The states that went Democratic in the Congressional contest in 1954 could give the Democrats a Presidential victory in 1956.

In 1954, the states that went Democratic in the Congressional contests would give the Democrats 315 electoral votes as against the Republicans' 216 electoral votes.

In 1952, the Congressional result would have given the Republicans 351 electoral votes as against 180 for the Democrats.

4. There is a *growing* gap between the number of popular votes cast for Democratic Party Congressional candidates and the number of seats won by the Democratic Party in the House.

In 1954, the Democratic Party polled 52.6 percent of the two-party vote for Congress. It won 232 seats or 53.3 percent of the seats. The popular vote this year was greater, percentage-wise, than in 1950, than in 1944, than in 1938. Yet in each of these last mentioned years, the number of *seats* held by the Democrats was far greater than the number of seats won in 1954. Note the following table:

YEAR	DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF VOTE	NUMBER OF SEATS DEMOCRATIC
1938	50.8%	262 seats
1944	52.2	243 seats
1950	50.3	235 seats
1954	52.6	232 seats

The number of votes cast for Democratic Congressional candidates in 1954 was high, but the number of seats won was comparatively low.

In three states, Democratic candidates actually won a majority of the popular vote but ended up with less than a majority of the seats: California, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

Outside the South, the Democratic Party Congressional candidates polled just three-fifths of one percent less than half the total popular vote, but ended up with only 38.7 percent of the seats in non-Southern states.

One key to this puzzle is Republican control of the machinery whereby Congressional districts are mapped. The contours of a Congressional district are determined by the state legislatures. And state legislatures, outside the solid South, are overwhelmingly in the hands of the Republican Party. Through these state legislatures, the Republican Party is able to gerrymander Congressional district lines to weigh results in favor of the GOP.

In the South, the Democrats do the same thing. But out of the total of 435 House seats, only 120 are located in the South so Democratic control of the state legislatures affects a comparably small number of seats. In addition the actual popular vote for the Republicans is so small that gerrymandering is hardly necessary to reduce GOP seats from the South (the great gerrymandering in the South is less directed against the GOP than it is directed against the urban areas by the rural areas).

After the 1950 census, the Republican Party in several populous states—New York, California, Pennsylvania and Ohio especially—carried through successful gerrymanders to favor their party. These three states alone have 126 seats in the House, more than the entire South. Moreover, they are not one-party states and hence skillful juggling of district lines can substantially change the number of seats gained by the party in control.

Consider California. In 1948 the Democratic candidates for Congress in the state of California polled 40.6 percent of the popular vote; in 1954, the Democratic candidates in the state of California polled 51.5 percent of the vote—a clear majority that might give the Democrats as much as 52 or 55 percent of the Congressional delegation. In fact, however, the Democrats in 1948 won 43.5 percent of the delegation (with 40 percent of the vote) and in 1954, the Democrats got only 36.7 percent of the delegation—though they had a clear majority of the votes.

What happened in California between 1948 and 1954? The answer is simple: after 1950, the California state legislature, in Republican hands, redistricted the state. The 1954 result—showing the Democrats with more than half the vote and about one-third the seats—is just a neat piece of geographical carving.

California has 30 seats in the House of Representatives. The Democrats—on the basis of their vote—deserve at least half the seats: 15 or 16 seats. Actually, the Democrats have only 11 seats. The Republicans have 19.

Consider New York. In 1954, the Democratic candidates for Congress polled 48.9 percent of the state-wide vote. This is about one percent short of half the votes and should entitle the Democrats to 20 or 21 seats out of the 43 seats in the state. Actually, the Democrats have only 17 seats, while the Republicans have 26 seats. With the vote about evenly divided, the Democrats get 40 percent of the seats, while the GOP gets 60 percent of the seats.

In 1948, when the Democrats had 49.8 percent of the vote, less than one percent more than this year, they won 54.5 percent of the seats.

What happened between 1948 and 1954? The New York State legislature redistricted the state.

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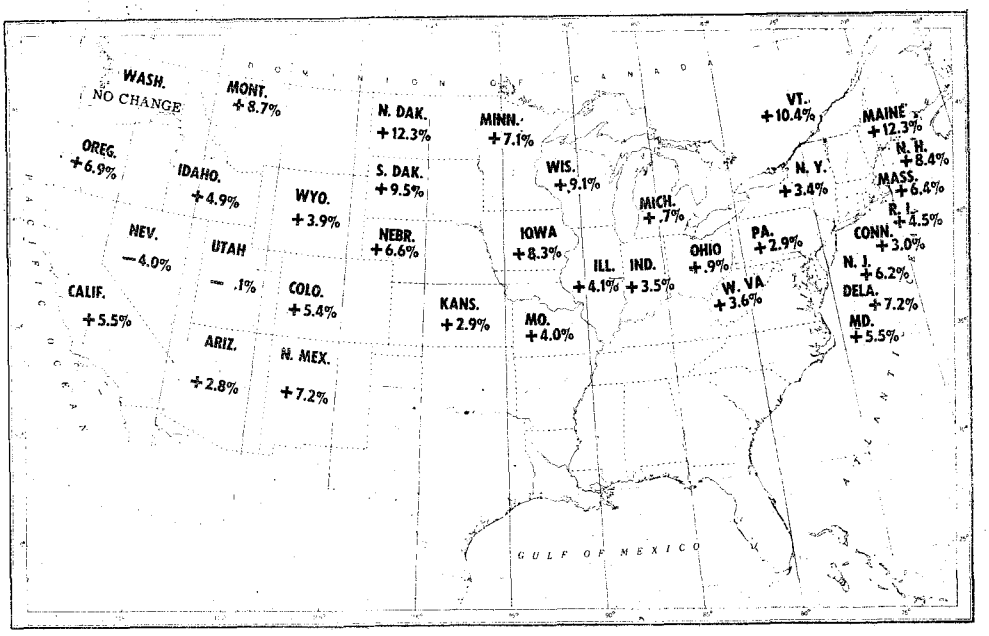
The skill exhibited by the Republican controlled state legislature in carving the districts to produce this prejudiced result may be seen in the way upstate New York and New York City are cut up.

In New York City, the Democrats polled 65 percent of the vote for their candidates. They won 73 percent of the seats in the city.

In upstate New York, the Republicans polled only 62 percent of the vote for their candidates but they won 95 percent of the seats.

This was accomplished by chopping up Democratic Buffalo and tacking the urban areas onto a Republican hinterland and by carving out three new "gerrymanders" in New York City. The end result is that at least four seats which would have gone Democratic under the old redistricting are now Republican.



Democratic Congressional Gains Between '52 and '54

In California and New York alone, then, control of the districting machinery by Republican state legislatures produced a GOP bonus of eight seats in the present Congress. Right now the seats are 232 Democratic and 203 Republican. If there had been no redistricting in California or New York alone, the Democrats would have 240 and the GOP 195.

In the series of articles on the problem of redistricting and reapportionment in the United States appearing in the *NR* (June 21, June 28, July 5, 1954), we pointed out that one of the most deplorable results of the gerrymander is the increasing tendency to create one-party Congressional districts. "Safe" seats are multiplied.

The increasing number of "safe" seats simply means that Congress becomes less and less sensitive to the changing mood of the voters. A shift in public opinion, registered at the polls, may— as it did in 1954—mean huger majorities for the Democrats and reduced majorities for the Republicans, but comparatively few changes in Congressional seats.

Consider New York City as a perfect case:

Here are some typical Democratic districts in Brooklyn and Queens, showing the marked increase in the percentage of the vote from 1952 to 1954:

CONGRESSMAN		DISTRICT	1952	1954
Holtzman	(Dem.)	6th	49.2%	54.3%
Delaney	"	7th	50.1	58.9
Anfuso	"	8th	65.4*	78.0
Keogh	"	9th	61.1	70.8
Kelly	"	10th	69.3	76.8
Celler	"	11th	73.7	83.5
Multer	"	13th	68.9	79.3
Rooney	"	14th	64.1	72.9

* Seat won by Cong. Heller, who did not seek re-election in '54.

All of the above districts are in Queens and Brooklyn. They show a landslide shift of the vote toward the Democratic candidates—*but in no case did a single seat change hands.* The big Democratic vote merely increased the popular majority.

The table below shows what happened to the Republican vote in Queens and Brooklyn. It will be noted that the GOP districts, made safe by a GOP legislature in the state, are: (1) either so overwhelmingly GOP, as the 4th in Queens, that a drop of even nine percentage points still keeps the district very safely in the GOP column, or (2) they are so gerrymandered, as in the 5th and 12th, that the "select" population groups in the district are highly insensitive to the socio-economic problems of the day—and just don't move with the rest of the borough or the city.

PERCENTAGE OF VOTE IN REPUBLICAN BROOKLYN AND QUEENS

CONGRESSMAN		DISTRICT	1952	1954
Latham	(Rep.)	4th	63.3%	54.2%
Bosch	"	5th	53.5	51.7
Dorn	"	12th	52.7	51.3

In New York City, the Republican popular vote for Congress fell from 44 percent in 1952 to 35 percent in 1954—but they lost no seats, with the exception of that vacated by Republican Jacob Javits in his race for Attorney General.

New York City's situation mirrors the nation in microcosm. Thanks to skillful gerrymandering of districts the Congressional results do NOT reflect the shift in the popular mandate. It is this, above all else, that created an optical illusion after the November elections: converting a major Democratic tide into a seeming trickle.

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The Plainest Plain-Clothesman

by Reuel Denney

KNOWLEDGE about policemen and their ways, both in fact and in fiction, tends to be concentrated among reporters, criminals, lawyers—and the police themselves. This list is arranged in descending order of the reliability of the information that each of these guides is likely to turn up about the police. The policeman's knowledge of himself and his colleagues is extensive but unsystematic. The lawyer's knowledge is practical, but it is dominated largely by manipulative motives rather than by understanding. The reporter's knowledge is perhaps the best. The reporter is the one who has the kinds of specific knowledge about the police that finally come to the notice of sociologists.

Few reporters of the twentieth century, however, have made a special effort to consider the policeman's life as a career, or to discuss the status of the trade. On the other hand, the sociologists have tended to scatter their knowledge of police operations through studies of the morality and the morale of big cities, investigations of lawlessness, and so on. We have little to depend on if we ask what changes have occurred with the policeman in the United States during the twentieth century; and how these changes might be related to changes in the public image of the cop.

Yet when we consider fictional policemen, certain points are already known. The detective story is losing in popularity to the science fiction story. It holds as its residual audience in the US the upper-middle-class, the older people and the Easterners. The mass-media image of the policeman has been changing steadily in the United States since 1900; and in the course of that time there has been an elaboration and development of new stereotypes. The newer stereotypes involve, among other things, a reinforcement of the distinctions that separate the uniformed policeman from the detective, the public policeman from the private policeman, the "favorite" crimes of today from those of yesterday, the older from the newer motivations of the man-hunt, and the man-hunter. These changes in the image of the law-enforcer are connected, it appears, with other major changes in the life of the nation.

The scene which police fiction describes was changed by World War I, the Prohibition Law, the industrial violence of the Depression, and changes in the immigration pattern. The scene has also been changed by the rapid social mobility of millions of people in the US since the beginning of World War II. The media themselves have changed. The movies, rarely originating any police figures except comic ones, have picked up and elaborated the available stereotypes of fiction, from Sherlock Holmes to Mike Hammer. They have familiarized the audience with international differences in crime, police theory and detection. Radio and television, for commercial purposes, have continued to develop a series of marginally differentiated brands of detectives and policemen. The audience structure of the "police romance" has changed. Comic books have taken over at the lower literary levels—"psychological drama" has taken over some aspect of the detective story at the highest literary levels. Middle-brow readers have shown a tendency to lose interest in fictional police work, while taking more of an interest in "documentary" reports.

IT IS reasonable to suppose that decline of the comic cop in the movies is connected with an attempt on the part of the movies to depart from lower-class appeals and connected also with an attempt on the part of the audience to rise above lower-class responses. It is reasonable to suppose that the Hammett private detective, who was sensitive to industrial injustice, was a kind of Robin Hood of the Depression and that his appearance in fiction was connected with a need to create a Popular Front counter-statement to the industrial Pinkerton. It is reasonable to guess that the "low-pressure" cop represented in *Dragnet* is symbolic of the new alliance between the lower class and the white-collar class suggested by analysis of the Eisenhower victory in the 1952 elections. Hostility to the police is one of the social habits given up by the lower economic classes as they increase their identification with the middle class. *Dragnet* appears to dramatize, for the medium with the biggest and lowest status audience (TV), precisely this "respectable" definition of the cop. All these changes may well say more about current images of the cop than about the cop himself.

Before speaking of *Dragnet*, it should be emphasized that social myth exists outside of its representation in the fiction of popular culture; there is a public-opinion image which at any time may or may not find its voice in fiction and the other mass media. Again, the position of the policeman within society is closely connected with, and mediated by, changes in the concept of social control and law. Some of these changes may not be especially noticeable to the policemen who implement them, or to the fiction-writers who respond to them. Along these lines, it need only be suggested that the po-

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liceman always operates on a complex of sanctions, some of which originate in shifting preoccupations in the philosophy of law. The twentieth century has seen the American policeman affected by at least one major intellectual movement in this field.

TO PUT it very briefly, the urban police of the United States in the early twentieth century operated "within" a legal tradition of Positivism and Liberalism. This does not mean that they swung their nightsticks more correctly and more softly than they did before or after this fashion in law. It does mean that their "higher-ups" and the judges who decided the cases they brought to them, operated in new ways. One feels that this ethos was more than vaguely echoed in the "craftsmanlike" writing-up of the craftsmanlike case in the British and American detective story up until about 1930. Focus on scientific method went with a "preventive and corrective" attitude toward crime, and these attitudes, in turn, went with a brand of detective fiction in which the class structure was firm and predictable. The policemen and the detectives of the detective novel up until about the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century were Comteans and Benthamites, one might say. They were men who dealt with criminals and with themselves in the terms of nineteenth century social thought of the more optimistic brand.

In the years since the depression and World War, the re-appearance of Natural Law (partly as response to Nazi successes in making murder a stateway) has dulled some of the edge of positivistic and utilitarian legal thinking. While the older detective had to face the "instinct toward crime" and the criminal ruined by a bad society, the newer detective faces crime that arises from the ambiguity of a whole culture, and from Dostoevskian criminals who have been engaging in "suspensions of the ethical." Nevertheless, the older image of the bureaucratic cop persists. These few notes on the heartbeats induced on the home cardiogram by the TV efforts of Jack Webb, as Joe Friday, are offered as a study in the routinization of that older image of the cop. For it appears on the evidence that follows that Joe Friday is a sort of "tired" version of the scientific cop. Tired, that is, in the sense that he psychologizes all human motives while at the same time he remains supremely uninterested in motives as such, especially his own.

Joe Friday was after shoplifters one night in 1954, out of the Chesterfield shift on CBS. It was the same day his creator, Actor Jack Webb, appeared on *Time's* cover. Friday traced the thefts to a Mrs. Bruce Sterling, "upper-middle-class," wife of a surgeon. She analyzed herself as having done it out of loneliness. She said she wished she could find the answer to her troubles, and Friday told her that she wouldn't find it in jail. The pattern of Mrs. Sterling's kleptomania was to rob the same stores over and over again and then jettison the stuff on the way home.

The realism was familiar to followers of *Dragnet*. It employs semi-swallowed voices, many close-ups and uninterrupted eye-contacts—and Webb's talent for not having to blink until he has just come to the last three words of any speech, however long. The realism depends also on a documentary style of facial expression, an encouragement of Weegee-like plasticity in the faces of the actors. To a lesser degree it depends on the choice of material for the tales. The realism is abetted by Webb's Belasco touch. As reported by *Time*, "*Dragnet's* set exactly simulates the offices at the Los Angeles Police Department."

In the *Dragnet* series, the most interesting terms of the make-believe involve the implicit relations of the cop to society. Friday is not a patrolman, whose uniformed visibility gives rise to helplessness, and therefore to appropriateness for comedy. He has no connection with the manhole-disappearing, Model-T reversing Keystone cop of our youth, when the Law could not tell a lamp-post from a man, and a kid couldn't tell a Tootsie-Roll stain on the screen from a birthmark on a bathing-beauty's cleft. He is the plain-clothesman, whose concealed identity gives rise to some of his power and information—thus fitting him for the genre of pathos or tragedy. Again, Friday is not the private and perhaps even amateur sleuth; he is the public, and certainly professional gum-shoe. As such, he plays a more impersonal, bureaucratized role, backed by vaguer and higher sanctions of juristic force than the private or the amateur. His definition as the public's servant rather than as a client's agent is a major part of his authority. This is also closely related to his choice of orientations. He is oriented toward

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the police profession and not toward its clients; and he appears to be liked by his audiences, for some reason, because he is a cop's cop.

So much for his general dramatic outline. It would have little of the dramatic magnetism it actually possesses if the role were not filled by a highly defined personal character. A cop can be shady, or moralistic, or something in between which is neither; the last is Friday. Again, a detective can identify only casually and segmentally with his occupational role (as in the famous instance of Sherlock Holmes) or he can lead no imaginable life outside it; the latter is Friday. In his investigative method he can work chiefly as a muscle man or as a system man; the latter is Friday. Most important of all, the fictional detective appears to have the possibility of maintaining one of four relations between his craft and his emotional involvement in it. Both craft and involvement can be high pressure; both can be at low pressure; or one can be high while the other is low. Mike Hammer is high in emotional involvement and not so high in competence. Sherlock Holmes was high in both. The "stupid constable" of English detective fiction is often low in effect and low in competence. Friday is the fourth case. He is high in competence and low in effect. If he could only become *more apathetic*, we assume, he would become that much *more competent*.

Surely the most interesting thing about any fictional cop, however, is the kind of crimes he happens to get to solve. You might think, because Friday is a dramatization of just a good plain-clothesman, that he realistically solves all kinds of crimes, in all kinds of ways. This is not what a closer examination of the story-line suggests. The vulnerable point in "series" realism is that sheer volume of episodes finally makes the stereotypical repetition show through; and the stereotype points to where the fantasy is, in the minds of the producers and the audience.

To go back to Mrs. Sterling, the reader will have noticed her crime was not a professional but an amateur crime; that it was committed by the wife of a white-collar professional; that it was not an example of "organized" crime; that it involved aggressions against persons (herself and her husband) more deeply than it involved aggressions against property (the stolen articles were the symbols of her deprivations). Some such pattern fits most *Dragnet* story-lines.

Dragnet has chased down professionals, organized criminals, and those who have committed crimes against property. Such cases are not frequent, however. In general that sort of crime does not invite the solution that Friday prefers to commit. The ideal type of a *Dragnet* operation involves the ultimate arrest of malefactors who are hard to find because they look something like our neighbors and something like the people on soap opera. Few characters on *Dragnet* have ever had the simplicity to commit a crime just for the sake of M-O-N-E-Y. Friday's favorite prey are the "high" people, whose breaking of the law is both an ethos and a business.

While this selection of crimes is far from realistic in its representation of the police blotter, it is close to fantastic in its grip on the audience. That is, it capitalizes most effectively on our fears about our own hostilities among those of us who are "high" rather than "wide." I suppose we must compose the larger proportion of the 17 million listeners. We are not invited to watch a pursuer whose activity might bring fright to a "big-shot" (as in the comfortable old gangster films where only the higher-ups of society were bad men). We are invited to watch a pursuer who brings fright to respectables such as ourselves. The realism consists then in documentarily tracking the crimes that the *audience* might commit, not in getting off into a sample of crimes they would probably *not* commit.

In the Kefauver Hearings, we TV-viewers saw the society at the mercy of the aggressions of corrupt higher-ups. In *Dragnet* we see the society at the mercy of the aggressions that are simply our own. The moralist will applaud this for bringing responsibility home to each viewer in his own terms. The media critic might answer that the media message, by confirming the audience in the belief that its own aggressions are a danger, makes them doubt their own morale. The fully confirmed member of such an audience (if arrested, say, for stealing white rats from a bubonic plague laboratory) would naturally not expect to be picked up by an individualistically colorful genius like the nineteenth century Sherlock Holmes. He would expect to be nabbed by someone who looked like the non-unionized skip-tracer at the end of a bad day—in short, by a Friday.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

TWO YEARS AGO when the present regime took office the most superficial observer could not fail to note the parallel between it and the Grant Administration of unhappy memory. The popular military hero at the head of it, his obvious honesty, his inexperience in politics, his reliance on the professionals in his own party, his big-business Cabinet (even Charles E. Wilson's initial failure to qualify was paralleled by A. T. Stewart's in Grant's time), his distrust of the men who won his nomination and his preference for those who had opposed him, all invited and almost compelled comparison with the beginning of Grant's tenure of office.

As time passed the increasing bitterness of the President's partisanship, culminating in the prophecy of "cold war" if the Democrats won Congress carried the parallel further. Finally, the Dixon-Yates affair recalled Grant's overweening confidence in the tycoons of Wall Street.

But in recent months a note that had been subdued at the start has been rising to dominance and in the middle of January became strident in Senator Knowland's stinging comment on Dag Hammarskjold's mission to Peking. It raises a question as to whether the historical parallel is with Grant at all; perhaps it is with Andrew Johnson.

Of course, no rational man believes that anyone —or at least anyone who is sane—is plotting to impeach the President; but there is no lack of evidence that some of his fellow-Republicans are aspiring, if not conspiring, to repudiate him in 1956. The Knowland speech has the look of the opening move in a campaign to replace Eisenhower on the ticket at the next election, especially if the Senator from California is perfectly sincere, as I believe he is.

To say that the Hammarskjold "mission was a failure by any fair standard or yardstick that Americans can use" when the mission was obviously only the first step in a long march, may be fantastic from the standpoint of a logician, but not from that of a Californian. For the campaign of terror that has afflicted the whole country for 10 years has been pressed with especial virulence in California. Without doubt the judgment of some men there has been so far unbalanced by fear and suspicion that they honestly believe that any intelligent effort to keep the peace is a betrayal of the country.

It was so in 1868. No doubt a few of the radical leaders at that time were cynically playing for their own political advantage, but many of the rank and file had no doubt that Johnson's effort to apply Lincoln's reconstruction policy was a high crime; and so they impeached him. It could be that Knowland is playing for his own advantage as cynically as Thad Stevens ever did; but it is more likely that as a Californian he really believes that the element of "shrinking weakness" that Senator McCarthy professed to see in Eisenhower is a menace to the country.

If that is the case, he is likely to carry the Holy War to its bitter end, regardless of political considerations; and in that case the outcome will turn upon whether McCarthy's guess was fatuous, or uncommonly shrewd. For if there is any "shrinking weakness" in Eisenhower, he will not have to be repudiated. When they make things unpleasant enough he will quit. It is already clear that he is finding the Presidency no picnic, but if the radical wing starts working on him in a really big way they will make his first two years seem idyllic by comparison.

If Eisenhower should refuse to run again the Knowland element will have gained its point, for it is hard to believe that the liberal Republicans could find another candidate, and inconceivable that they could put him over against the massed opposition of the irreconcilables in the convention.

THAT this is the way the game is to be played is made plain by Knowland's warning to the President that any "appeasement" of the Communists—and he branded the Hammarskjold mission as a step toward appeasement—"will be subjected to not only the most searching scrutiny by the American Congress but by a far more potent and solemn referendum of the American people in 1956." If that isn't plain to them, the Eisenhower people should study the English language again.

Meanwhile, the astounded Democrats can only stare. They will support the President, naturally, as they supported President Johnson, but they cannot rescue him from his own party; that he must do for himself by demonstrating that there is no more "shrinking weakness" in him than there was in luckless old Andy.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The New World of Elizabeth Bowen

by J. B. Ludwig

By the time Elizabeth Bowen came to writing as a career, literary suffragettes like Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf, weary with tweaking Arnold Bennett noses, were firmly chained to the private fences of Literature, and so she was too late for that particular run of fun. In addition, she seems to have missed their point that the nineteenth century kind of novel had been demolished once and for all: her early stories and novels are without much evidence of stylistic revolution; the sensitivity is there, the long questionings, the searching for answers, but she failed miserably to observe the most important of all "rules"—namely, that the only justification a writer could find for the existence of the external world was that it provided "things" and stimulus for art, for analysis of his reactions to these "things." Life, as any reader of Mrs. Woolf's *Diary* knows, often merely gets in a writer's way.

A World of Love, by Elizabeth Bowen (Knopf; $3.50).

The sensitivity is there all right, perhaps too much so, almost as if the young Miss Bowen were proving how much more she could see even than others (guess whom she might have had in mind?); there's a little exchange between a mother and a daughter in *The House in Paris* which sounds suspiciously like a conversation between a metropolitan reviewer of the 1920's and a young writer: for, says the mother, "It is inexcusable not to be clear. . . . She preferred to think of people in terms of character." The daughter enjoys "her mother's anti-romanticism," as she calls it, but she follows with a justification: "the exercise of any sense, sight most, starts up emotion. . . . No object is mysterious. The mystery is your eye." And the eye spends a long time showing this "mystery": the early books abound with a smugness of sensibility.

When reviewers of these books praised Elizabeth Bowen's novels for being "civilized" I suppose they meant in part what one always means by such a word in the context of criticism—that her books were often boring. Not that they aren't filled with wonderful things, metaphors, flashes of character, even wisdom; it's the book as a whole that never quite holds together. The effect of early novels is that of a room with too many voices. Almost every character is sensitive and nobody who's sensitive should be ignored at revelation time.

But this so-called "civilized" writer is also sharp and witty at times; a short story like, say, "The Cat Jumps," is a good example of a growing Elizabeth Bowen; here we have still what she recently called her "harshness and touches of little-girlish smarty unkindness," but the target is the antiseptic modern mind, the new "zombie," the *lumpen*-Freudian; Miss Bowen isn't happy any longer merely *to expose*, she must now *show*. Out of a largely bitchy story emerges a sense of human character, Miss Bowen's, and she (unlike Huxley, who, as Yeats put it, simply didn't know when his characters were behaving badly) not only knows, but cares. Her gradual elimination of the distance between a character and a writer's sympathy for that character has been a mark of her growth as a writer.

After the war, and after she had written the biography of her house and family, *Bowen's Court*, during the war, Miss Bowen wrote *The Heat of the Day*. She's always made much of what she learned from the movies and the detective story; in this novel it showed. Characters were no longer more or less lined up against a wall waiting their cues to speak; they now spoke to each other, not only to tell each other something the reader should know, but to make an impact; the resulting dialogue is dramatic; the story has suspense; the characters on one level (the sophisticated) are related to those on the other (the natural). And a song is being practiced, one that tells about the wonders of love—even in war, or in the midst of treachery, or among twisted moral or political motives.

Now, five years after her last novel, a new book, a strange singing book, small, of a Greek neatness—few characters, a few days, a few Irish miles, *A World of Love*. Strange because of a mystery about it, an excited air of discovery, of sunshine at the beginning and sunshine at the end and a not-dark tunnel in between; strange because the actual is made the unreal, fantasy, sealed off as it is from the outer world till the very last second of the novel when another kind of unreal creature sweeps down from—where else—the sky (even if it says "Shannon" airport we know that the unreal has but borrowed the trappings of Shannon, like everything else "real" in the book). This book is written with the excitement of a vision, a simple truth glimpsed all at once. Everyone can be transformed, by love: even Humpty-Dumpty *could* be put together again, by love (the book is full of Lewis Carroll echoes—a golden-haired heroine who steps into a world of "cards" made up of the dead in life, the ones with manners and mobility).

Look at the actual world; now look again: "wherever one looks twice," says Miss Bowen, "there is some mystery"; the writer touches the world and mystery springs—from the world now, not merely from the elegant eye. So keep things simple; two Irish houses, one old

> MAY it not be found that the classic, the majestic, the enduring novels treat of subjects which are rarely unique? The power is in the content; the authority is in the implied knowledge; the innovation is in the manner of telling. An elementary emotional situation, most often, provides the core. We may have ambition stories, life-stories, struggle-for-power stories; but the expectation that the novel should be a love story is hard to break down.
>
> Were it gone, fiction would fight a losing battle against documentary writing; the possibility of masterpieces would decline. The domain of the novel is, what continues to be irrational, yet inevitable, in human behavior—hence the novel's concern with the nature, and the effects, of love. We are shown not merely persons, but persons placed, willingly or otherwise, in each other's power. —ELIZABETH BOWEN
>
> in the *New Republic*, May 11, 1953

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and decaying, one lived in by Lady Latterly, *noveau riche*. Jane of the golden hair moves between the two houses; life can't be struck into the "pack of cards" (called such names as Vesta, Peregrine, and—it's true—Mamie) by either Jane's youth, or her beauty, or her desire for love. Lady Latterly and the other face-cards can't be told what it is that Jane found in an old bundle of love-letters—that they prove the existence of love and so, in a sense, a love letter is not written to any particular person but to the world. And it is the world that is changed by this love. To whom *were* the letters written actually? To Jane's mother Lilia, to her cousin Antonia, to an as yet unborn Jane? To repeat—to the world. Through the love they celebrate her mother and father come together, Antonia is almost transformed, and Jane herself has a lover swoop down from the clouds and, as the last words in the book go, "They no sooner looked but they loved."

Miss Bowen's intelligent camera eye introduces the world of love; listen to what she is saying—*get the landscape, sweep, now closer, catch the gold in the girl's hair, skip into the house, over the walls, item by item the things on the table, now a bit of dialogue.* The style is often irritatingly inverted, uncolloquial, as it must be, I suppose, when the poetic is needed to raise up the ordinary; and why not take chances? Lyrical narrative is dangerous. Elizabeth Bowen has always known that. But for this first time in her writing you'll think of Emily Bronte.

Now, all this isn't to play down what Miss Bowen has to say: Prospero's world too is not much real, but what it *says* is. Roped off from the outside world this Irish "island" says something *to* the outside world: Miss Bowen, like her heroine Jane, sees parallels: "The passion and politics of her family so much resembled those of the outside world that she made little distinction between the two." It's so simple, the book sings over and over again, to love is so simple.

The Community of Faith

by Amos N. Wilder

SINCE this is the first volume of a "Christian Faith Series" which proposes to make the faith "meaningful to modern people" at a non-technical level, interest attaches not only to the exposition but also to the strategy of communication. Where does the interpreter find the secular man vulnerable and what is the chosen apologetic method? The book and the series propose to acquaint the layman with vital new developments in Protestant thought, with changes resulting from the fact that Biblical scholarship has turned a corner in recent years and from the fact that theology has repossessed itself of a good conscience and a sense of authority.

The Renewal of Man: A Twentieth Century Essay on Justification by Faith, by Alexander Miller (Doubleday; $2.95).

Biblical study has entered upon a constructive post-liberal (though not illiberal) phase consequent upon the deepening of the older orthodox historical method. Theology today recognizes the weakness of a familiar modernizing stance. In this role it has been compared to the position of an old ambassador in a foreign land out of touch with his sovereign who seeks to cover his loss of contact and accreditation by feverish oscillation between a haughty severity and an impulse to win approval at any cost by ingratiating himself by any and every concession.

The procedure of the present volume is to identify "the deeper movements of the contemporary mind" by graphic exhibits drawn from the work of Arthur Koestler, Graham Greene and Robert Penn Warren, and then to relate the Christian faith to the situation so defined. The thought of the book turns continually upon the motif indicated in the subtitle, *Justification by Faith*. The argument is that contemporary man's dilemma of personal and social desperation and involvement in evil is only properly met by the historic Pauline and Reformation doctrine. On this basis the springs of action are cleansed without evasion into a false spirituality and reassurance is afforded where men are obliged to act in situations of torturing ambiguity. This theme is ably applied to the general problem of ethics, to the special problem of justice and the State, to the area of truth and higher education, that of lay vocation and finally to the meaning of the Church.

These special discussions rest upon a careful exposition of the distinctiveness of the Biblical view of man-in-history and man-in-community with its corollaries for the understanding of ethics and of truth. A contrast is set up here with religion in general whose approach to God or the gods is either through some aspect of nature or through some presumed higher faculty in man like the logos or the spirit. A contrast is also set up with rationalistic and romantic corruptions of Christianity.

Indeed, the argument of the book turns as heavily against the presuppositions and practises of the religious institutions of today as against secularism. Ethics in the Hebraic-Christian tradition are defined in terms of the ethos or family usage of a historical group rather than rationalistically. The Christian event out of which the renewal of man arises is seen in Tillich's phrase as a "Gestalt of revelation" in terms of which the self is transcended and disinterested motive and action become possible. The Lutheran formulation of the theme of justification is brought to bear effectively upon our contemporary dilemmas, though revision of its momentous doctrine of lay vocation is acutely developed with reference to modern social patterns.

Whether the doctrine of justification offers the best vehicle today for meeting the deeper movements of the contemporary mind is a question. The author shows its relevance at many points where, as he says, the questions raised by secular writers "scream for Christian answers." A basis is offered here, for example, for Christian action in politics and economics of a kind that rules out either abstention or fanaticism. It is true that one wonders if this sober approach to the political question could find a place for a John Brown or a Joan of Arc. There is a Biblical theology today which takes its start not from the doctrine of justification by faith but from the New Testament theme of the reign of Christ over state as well as church and the conflict with the powers of evil, a theology which encourages a more aggressive social ethic.

It may be argued that the doctrine of

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justification was only one side of Paul's thought, brought to the fore as in the case of Luther for *ad hoc* purposes connected with the controversy over law. Some of the great families of Christianity have subordinated it. Presentation of the faith in these terms inevitably involves an opaque residue of dogma. Christianity will always have stubborn elements which cannot be rendered palatable to the skeptic but some strategies are better than others. Our Anglo-Saxon Protestantism has at least in this country a deep tincture of empiricism. It is true that this temper is exposed to the danger of secularization but it is probable that the case for Christianity will best be fought out in this context. However, the great need of today is for a proper recognition of the distinctiveness of the community of faith and of its understanding of the approach to truth, and the author has made a notably effective contribution to this in terms of one great Christian tradition.

A TV Writer's Rhapsody

by Walter Goodman

MAX WYLIE is the confessed writer of a daytime video serial entitled *The Secret Storm*. He has now written a book entitled *Clear Channels: Television and the American People*, a 408-page extolment of US TV laced with invective for those who don't share his enthusiasm.

Clear Channels: Television and the American People, by Max Wylie (Funk and Wagnalls; $4.75).

Television is immensely popular; therefore it is great—so runs Mr. Wylie's thesis. But "because it is free it will always be susceptible to the contempt and the easy scorn of the ungrateful, the snobbish, the craven and the intellectually pompous." The author handles these assorted ill-humored types with the grace, moderation and logic of a ten-second spot commercial.

George Seldes is "a true snob and a sports hater." Robert M. Hutchins "is a million miles from the nearest human being." Norman Cousins "can't wait to be the first to get up in the morning to warn the nation about something that just hit him the night before." Frederick Wertham "is worse than Norman Cousins." Philip Hamburger of the *New Yorker* is usually "a spouting fumarole, scalding the industry."

WYLIE is upset by Congressional investigating subcommittees: "A lot of busy television men have been badly bothered by a lot of nosy crusaders and near-nobodies." He's upset by studies of his medium which don't come out with the right conclusions: "TV is being clubbed to death by the blunt instrument of rumor, vindictiveness, phony research and sensation-hunting." He's upset by educators who don't prize commercial TV: "They never have to meet a payroll." And, furthermore, the men who represent the educators to the television industry "almost always share but one purpose. It is self-advantage." He's upset by psychiatrists: "I think the metropolitan psychiatrist is the biggest swindler in the country today." He's upset by people who make unflattering comparisons with the BBC. "No American who has known a great deal of English radio has ever . . . found it superior." (I don't like to be picky over small points, but I could introduce Mr. Wylie to several Americans who have found it indescribably superior.) Anyway, everyone knows "the English don't like innovations unless they've been exhaustively pre-tested, nor anything revolutionary unless proven."

But the book has its affirmative side. For instance, Mr. Wylie likes American radio: "It's record is not a fine one, it is great." He's even more impressed with television, a medium "so honest and so accurate that it saved the Vice Presidency for Richard Nixon." He's delighted with *Strike It Rich*, a give-away show for which he accepts four and one-half years' responsibility: "No

Yorick

HELD in bondage day and night
By dear my Lord Fauconberg. With whom I dined
At the Boar's Head. There the whole Pandemonium,
Assembled, supped. Have just been eating chicken, weeping.
Seated and weeping, the tears fall over it,
A bitter sauce.

I have doubled the cape of Good Hope.
I have looked in Yorick's face.

I wish I were in Arno's vale,
Though here at Coxwold, days are princely
—A land of plenty, and I dine
On trout, on venison, and on wild fowl.

Yet, as I eat my strawberries, for want of you
I am as melancholy as a cat. I have a cat now.
Sits beside me, quietly and gravely, purrs
To my sorrows, gazes at me solemnly
As if he knew the reason of my pain!

—How soothable the heart is, dear Eliza!
Supported when it sinks pathetically
By a poor beast purring harmoniously!
When a poor cat purrs *pianissimo*
Me, me, poor Yorick harks to an anodyne
Dark and sweet as the poppy, fresh and rash as the cock's cocorico!

. . . Love, alas, has fled with thee
Whom all the night my wakeful eyes
(While all the day is blind to me!)
Imagine, summon, idolize
Standing before dim gates, or pitifully
(Such is my hope, my vanity!)
Waiting in the great green park most patiently!

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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one has pointed out that this show, day by day, is the most realistic social commentary that television is doing anywhere." In case you're not familiar with this accomplishment of Mr. Wylie's (which was found guilty in New York City on December 28, 1954, of soliciting funds from its studio audience without a license):

> It is the least contrived, most dramatic quiz show in the history of American entertainment and it is so because of the simplicity of concept; people who need help or who wish to secure help for someone else tell their story in their own simple way. Some of it is funny, some of it sad, some of it crude. Some is sheer heartbreak. Almost all of it is heroic either in restraint or unselfishness . . . I call it honest and I call it great.

A few pages later, the genius of *Strike It Rich* calls *Death of a Salesman* a wash of self-pity and Willy Loman "a weary jerk without standards, purpose, energy, brains or morality." (With just a little more energy, Willy might've told his story in his own simple way over a nation-wide hook-up and shown himself heroic in restraint.)

MR. WYLIE offers to save from oblivion the out-dated teaching profession just the way he saved Fanny Brice:

> She had a great career after vaudeville—she had a different act every Friday. She got writers to write it for her. Or rather Young & Rubicam did. Or rather Harry Ackerman and I did when we were at Young & Rubicam.

With this kind of assistance and some inherent talent as entertainers, the professors can go far on TV. "Why shouldn't a great teacher be paid $100,000 a year if he can fascinate network audiences three times a week?" Those lecturers who can't match Arthur Godfrey as audience-fascinators might wear funny hats or play the ukelele. But even without them TV is doing a splendid job of "taking the terror out of the classics by simplifying their language and plot and by setting in motion the words and their speakers." If we're real lucky, with Mr. Wylie's know-how, Shakespeare's tragedies may aspire to the dramatic smash of *I Love Lucy*.

"Television *is* American culture," says Mr. Wylie. It "will start feeding nothing but programs for educated people just as soon as the people are ready for them." But it is not the medium's problem to make anyone ready for anything or to allot more than a very small minority of its output to the very small minority of clamoring "Harvards" whom Mr. Wylie doesn't care for one bit. And the "snobs, hypocrites or plagiarists" who don't like Milton Berle would do everyone a favor if they'd get into line with the decent element of the community and start having one hell of a time.

As a rhapsodic view of American television, the book is amusing. As an indication of how individuals in the industry react to criticism and of how they rate their merchandise and their public it is depressing. As the rationalization of a literary soap-sudder it's rather embarrassing.

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The Beginnings of Desegregation

by R. B. Hovey

"SEPARATE educational facilities are unequal." When in these words the Supreme Court last May declared unanimously and unequivocally against segregated public schools, it spoke with a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. At any rate, such is our announced policy. Whether or not that official utterance can deprive Communism of a propaganda weapon in Asia and Africa depends upon what we do with it.

The momentous social consequences of the Court's ruling brings a nation-wide test of our democracy. For the South, which economically and emotionally has most at stake, the test is crucial. At this writing, four Southern states have adopted loophole constitutional amendments to evade the Court's decision, and citizens there are organizing anti-Negro boycotts. But the rest of us have small reason for self-righteousness. Despite the best of intentions, headaches and heartaches seem unavoidable. All of us need experienced guidance.

Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation, edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan (University of North Carolina Press; $3).

Fortunately, we have it in this book. Here is a concrete report of what actually occurred when, before the Court's action, twenty-four communities, each having a "Southern exposure," broke the color line in their schools. Lying along the border of the South, these communities, selected for field-study by a group of social scientists, range from a metropolis to small villages, represent both industrial and non-industrial areas, contain varying ratios of Negroes to their white populations, and swing geographically from New Jersey's coast to Arizona. First-hand information has resulted in a series of specific case histories of the variety of responses to desegregation: factors like the diversity of motives and interests which made for resistance or co-operation, the help or hindrance from publicity, the complexity of personal and group relations, the nature of communal decision-making power, the role of school officials and superintendents, and the difference in problems when a community worked toward gradual rather than immediate desegregation.

Much credit is owed to the editors (Southerners both), who have organized their massive data in a manner clear and simple enough for a high-school senior to follow. Though the writers mean to be suggestive rather than exhaustive, this painstaking description of local self-government at work might interest a de Tocqueville; their tone of unruffled good sense would please a Franklin. Scrupulous objectivity has eliminated all special pleading; yet the claims of humanity are recognized: the girl whose collection of rocks for exhibits to her geology class was confiscated by teachers who assumed they were for throwing at Negro students; or the protest by an upper-middle-class white community against a newly appointed Negro teacher, who promptly became so well liked that her students began inviting her home with them for lunch.

"Where desegregation has been tried," the editors report, "the typical outcome has been its eventual acceptance."

The transition created far less tension and friction than were anticipated: only in Cairo, Illinois, was there any violence, and that without bloodshed. Although the ease and pace of the change varied from community to community, nowhere did opposition long remain organized. Well qualified Negro teachers were accepted by white pupils; white teachers who could master their prejudices were accepted by Negro pupils. Racial antagonism among pupils was so slight that a "reiterated comment from nearly all communities was that if the parents did not interfere, the children got along all right."

Yet *desegregation* (the mechanical process of bringing children of both races into the same classrooms) is to be distinguished from *integration* (the maximum co-operation of Negroes and whites in all school activities). The record also indicates that both of these mean *"an uneven, shifting process, not a sudden massive change."* Nevertheless, where public opinion has not crystallized, the conduct of school officials may be pivotal: by indecisive, fluctuating policies, they can maximize confusion and resistance. And another conclusion stresses planning: "There is no substitute for careful local diagnosis."

The key word is *local*. For if the experience of these communities affords us guidance through the transitions ahead, it is this: that there is no one prescription; that each community has its particular problems and must find its own way. The questions concern our own neighborhood. To the school administrator, the local official, the community leader, the teacher, the parent, the taxpayer, this book offers help and hope.

Notes on the Critics

J. B. LUDWIG is at Yaddo working on a novel. AMOS N. WILDER is on the faculty of the Harvard Divinity School. His newest book is *Other-worldliness and the New Testament* (Harper's). WALTER GOODMAN is a free-lance writer. R. B. HOVEY teaches at the University of Pennsylvania. DELMORE SCHWARTZ's poems are excerpts from a larger work in progress.

All of the Fruits Had Fallen

ALL of the fruits had fallen,
The bears had fallen asleep,
And the pears were useless and soft
Like used hopes, under the starlight's
Small knowledge, scattered aloft
In a glittering senseless drift:
The jackals of remorse in a cage
Drugged beyond mirth and rage.

Then, then, the dark hour flowered!
Under the silence, immense
And empty as far off seas,
I wished for the innocence
Of my stars and my stones and my trees
All the brutality and inner sense
A dog and a bird possess,
The dog who barked at the moon
As an enemy's white fang,
The bird that thrashed up the bush
And soared to soar as it sang,
A being all present as touch,
Free of the future and past
—Until, in the dim window glass,
The fog or cloud of my face
Showed me my fear at last!

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

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► Highbrow Paper-back Books

SIRS:

It is indeed encouraging to find a publication that takes a positive approach to paper-bound books (Seymour Krim's article on "Highbrow Paper-backs," *NR*, December 16), and I only regret that my appreciation of your intentions was diminished by two basic misunderstandings which the piece revealed.

First, quality titles in paperbound covers are not limited to the 95¢ and higher priced Anchor-type books. On our list of 25¢ and 35¢ Signet editions are books by William Faulkner, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence and many other authors who would be "highbrow" by any standards.

Second, the basic difference between the distribution of the low priced reprints (published by The New American Library, Pocket Books, Bantam and other established reprinters) and the higher priced paperbound books which have appeared in the last year or so, (characterized by Anchor and Vintage) has a vital influence on the significance of these two different types of paperbounds. The first group are mass distributed—that is they are available on over 100,000 newsstands, in drug stores and other magazine-type outlets, while the second group are sold principally in about 2,000 established trade book outlets—book stores and college book stores. So it seems to me somewhat misleading to hail the appearance of these fine new dollar editions as a "revolution" in books, when what they are essentially are lower priced editions of books which appeal to, and are available to, established book buyers and are published in editions ranging from 20,000 to 30,000 copies.

In my mind, the real revolution started back in 1939 with Pocket Books, or in 1945 with Signet and Mentor Books, when for the first time in this century a wide variety of first-rate books were made available at 25¢ in editions of an average first printing of 200,000 copies.

I do not intend to minimize the service which Anchor and similar lines are performing in making good titles available in lower priced editions to regular book store customers. But I regret that the acclaim which this service has received as a great cultural achievement has so rarely been given to the mass-distributed paperbound books which have for so many years been developing a new and expanding audience for books with 25¢ and 35¢ quality titles.

KURT ENOCH
The New American Library of World Literature
New York City

. . . Mr. Krim Replies

SIRS:

I think the New American Library in its Mentor line has made a significant contribution to bringing good books at cheap prices to the public. I'm sorry I slighted this company in my article; they undoubtedly did, and are doing, unusual work in this field. The main point about Anchor and Vintage books, however, is that they are going even further than Mentor in selecting "obscure" or "weighty" books for paper-back audiences. They are not taking acknowledged modern classics like D. H. Lawrence and Joyce, but are actually risking their necks with much less known work by Sarah Orne Jewett, Ernst Casirer, etc. But why quibble? The important and heartening thing is that we have NAL plus Anchor plus Vintage plus half a dozen other young companies all working for our pleasure and illumination. Literature, it's wonderful—and may the paper-back companies keep reminding us it is for many a moon.

SEYMOUR KRIM
New York City

► It's News to Mutual

SIRS:

Walter Goodman's (*NR*, January 3) excellent piece on the Mutual Network and its "newscasters" was especially enjoyable to me because my first announcing job in radio was at the Mutual outlet in Provo, Utah. I was the coverage announcer, inserting the local announcements and programs that alternated with the MBS shows. One of my jobs was to read a local signoff following Bill Cunningham's weekly news commentary. I forget now just which crusade he happened to be on at the time of the incident to follow. Possibly the tear-jerking fund-raising campaign he led for the defense of that poor clubwoman who was sued by Paul Draper and Larry Adler. It doesn't matter because Cunningham was equally annoying on any topic he discussed. Anyway——

After having to follow his spiel every Sunday with a reminder to the Provo folks to tune in again next week at this same time for another interesting program featuring this eminent newscaster, etc., I finally got fed up one Sunday and followed his weekly tirade with: "Ladies and Gentlemen: opinions expressed on the foregoing program do not necessarily reflect those of the announcer on duty." Perhaps one must actually work as that nameless, characterless voice, the coverage announcer, before one can appreciate the elation and sense of triumph I felt at having dared to insert not only myself but also my feelings into Cunningham's quarter hour.

Incidentally, nobody complained, although that might be due to the fact that nobody was listening.

ROLFE PETERSON
Salt Lake City

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SIRS:

The issue date on your article "It's News to Mutual" coincided with a major change from labor's standpoint. The AFL on that date began a new series on a new network with Edward P. Morgan. In moving from Mutual the AFL picked up a CBS commentator and put him on ABC. This leaves Mutual even more firmly in the clutches of "Facts Forum." Harry Flannery, who had the AFL as an employer, not a sponsor, went back to editorial work on the *AFL News-Reporter*.

ROLAND A. WHITE, Editor
The Dubuque Leader
Dubuque, Iowa

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